

Uluakimata I (Telea), who resided for a time on Euakafa Island, Vavau, 643 is said to have had other residences in that group (26, p. 37). In 1781 the 648 Tui Tonga Pau entertained the Spanish explorer Maurelle in the Vavau 175 group. During the troubled times of Mariner's sojourn, the Tui Tonga 484 Fuanunuiava also resided there.

The stories about the Tui Tonga Takalaua tell of him beating the drum 643 for dances which appear to have been for pleasure rather than ceremony 175 (26, p. 65). Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 285) speaks of Pau dancing, and La-535 billardiére (37, vol. 2, p. 158) mentions the participation of either Maulu-pekotofa or Fuanunuiava in dances, indicating that the Tui Tonga unbent more or less to their subjects.

The assassination of several Tui Tonga is said to have led ultimately 643 to the delegation of certain temporal functions by Kauulufonua I to his 687 brother Moungamotua, whom he established as Tui Haa Takalaua. However, 682 according to Samoan tradition (36, vol. 1, p. 304) either Kauulufonua I or his successor Vakafuhu was assassinated. Thereafter there is no record of assassinations.

It is made evident by many tales and by the long list of illegitimate chil-643 dren that the Tui Tonga could command the person of any woman of 833 lower rank. [848]

Two versions of a story about a Tui Tonga and a woman named Ate are current in the island of Nomuka. Haapai—one makes Ate the Tui Tonga's wife, the other his daughter. Both versions indicate that the Tui Tonga, whoever he was, was visiting his domains beyond the bounds of Tongatabu.

One version of the story runs as follows (see page 78 for the other):

The woman Ate was not a chief's daughter, but was the beautiful daughter of a man of Haafeva Island who was named Fauolo. Ate had already borne a child, by a man she was not living with, at the time the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka.

All of the women of Nomuka came to see the Tui Tonga and, being evening, set fire to dried young coconut husks (*loume*). When the fire was lighted, the Tui Tonga fancied Ate, so he instructed the other women to extinguish the fire and depart. Normally the fire was kept burning all night when the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka. The Tui Tonga and Ate slept together. The Tui Tonga must have lived long in Nomuka for he died there and was buried in the Langi Atea. Ate was buried in a mound called Takahili Pakisi which lies in the modern village of Nomuka. She is the only person buried there, so report says.

The Tamaha genealogical records state that Ate, a Samoan woman, married [73] Fauolo of Haafeva Island. Their daughter was Talitulelu, who married Fiunoa of Haafeva Island. Their daughter Ate became the wife of the sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga.

A Samoan tale (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348) refers to an island on which 643 an early Tui Tonga kept virgins who were destined for his harem. Two 595 examples of threatened burning alive of wives of the Tui Tonga are also 593

423 inherited. In the case of hereditary estates the inheritance descends to
 428 the issue of the deceased holder *in infinitum*. Males and females may
 [562] succeed, but male issue is preferred to female of the same degree.
 Thus the estate devolves upon the eldest son of the deceased holder in
 the first instance, and if he dies, to his eldest son; if there is no such
 son, then to his eldest surviving brother who now carries on the line
 [818] under the same rules. A person not born in wedlock may not succeed;
 but for this purpose a person is regarded as legitimate even if he was
 obviously conceived before the marriage of his parents.

423 There are similar rules regarding tax allotments. The inheritance
 428 descends in the first place to the eldest son of the deceased holder; and,
 562 if he dies, to his eldest son. If there is no such son, then his eldest
 surviving brother may succeed. But where there is neither son nor
 brother to succeed, an unmarried daughter may succeed for her life.
 If there are several daughters, however, they may succeed jointly for
 [581] their lives. A female's right to land under these laws may be put aside
 [839] if she marries or if she is proved in the Land Court to have indulged
 in sexual intercourse. With both males and females interest in land
 is never more than a life interest.¹⁶

3—A SAMPLE TONGAN VILLAGE AND ITS LANDS

The village in which I investigated the operation of this system is
 101 situated four miles from the capital town of Nuku'alofa. It is a fairly
 162 large village with a population of 653 persons living in 106 households.
 621 The village population represents 1.24 per cent of the entire population
 of Tonga.

The strongest single force binding the members of the village
 621 together is their common allegiance to their high chief who is also the
 622 high chief of a number of other nearby villages. He is recognized as
 [431] having the authority to call upon every household in the village to
 supply gifts of yams and pigs, mats and *tapa* cloth, whenever the need
 arises for such accumulations to be made, such as on the marriage or
 [431] death of a member of Royalty or of the nobility. Although there are no
 specified occasions for the presentation of first fruits to him by the
 villagers, and he does not call for any, particular households do occasion-
 ally perform the service voluntarily in recognition of his position.¹⁷
 423 Apart from the political aspect of such position, it has also a very
 621 important economic aspect: the estate from which individual tax allot-
 622 ments are granted to members of the village are his hereditary *tofa*.
 Tax allotments are regarded as being held from him, and this exercises
 a powerful influence in upholding his authority and strengthening his
 position in relation to the whole village.

621 There is also a Town Officer, who is appointed by the Government
 644 to be its representative within the village and through whom it makes

¹⁶ A person who succeeds to the title to land in this context holds the land for himself. He may permit others, including his brothers, to derive sustenance from it, but this gives them no right of their own to it.

¹⁷ See in this connection Beaglehole 1941:19.

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

554 differentiated from every other brother does not exist in fact in the village.
621 But such rank is limited to the relative rank, strictly speaking, between
586 two persons concerned, and is not the absolute rank of the triangle of
587 hierarchy.

In my opinion, it looks both theoretically and practically impossible to integrate all the people of the community into the ramified structure for the following reasons:

554 (a) Generally, the union of a man and woman is not stable. It is
621 not unusual for a man to have children by several women and for a
586 woman to have children by several men. Consequently, an individual
587 may have a number of half siblings who share the same mother and at
593 the same time who share the same father. It must be difficult to integrate
all the siblings of the community as a whole in one alignment from the
highest to the lowest in accordance with the order of their birth.

554 (b) An individual often has a double relationship to another in-
621 dividual. For example, if 28 traces through his mother, the mother of
602 24 and 16 is his sister, but if 28 traces through his father, she is his father's
sister's son's daughter (see Fig. 3). In this case he may probably behave
towards her according to the direct relationship as brother and sister. But
what is the criterion to integrate all the villagers in one hierarchy for they
may have a double or triple relationship with one another?

554 (c) The sister is superior to the brother and her children to his
621 children. Consequently, a man (A) who marries a woman rises auto-
593 matically into a higher position than her brother (B). On the other
607 hand A can not hold up his head before a man (C) who marries A's
sister. Then in the relationship among these three men, C, is in the
highest rank while B is in the lowest. But it may well be that B is the
elder brother of C, or B's mother is C's father's sister. For these reasons
it is difficult to stratify all the descendants of one person into a single
ramified system.

554 Anyway, there are three principles in regard to ranking; the elder
593 brother is higher than the younger brother; the sister is higher than the
brother; and the husband is higher than the wife. These principles
may sometimes offset each other. So each individual has a double rank;
this one is higher than that, but this may be lower than that. Even if
a person is the direct descendant in the senior line of a common ancestor,
his rank is not always paramount. At the same time a descendant from
622 a remote collateral is not necessarily the lowest. Leka occupies, in fact,
621 the supreme position in the community. This seems to be so because he is
554 *ciki* (chief) and *matapule* of the Queen, not because he belongs to the
428 senior line of the kinship; he is the second son of his father Tevita Leka,
848 whose first son may be an illegitimate son, and this first son's daughter's
sons are 16 and 24.

554 As described in the latter half of this paper, the relative rank of
593 individuals is quite important in Tongan family. The behaviours of kin
602 are precisely defined, and expressed overtly on the ceremonial occasions.
585 In *kava* drinking at weddings, the first and the second cups were taken by
276 particular persons, but no one remembers who got the subsequent cups.
574

592 moved out of the household. At this stage adults feel the need for
597 companionship, and may also need assistance in performing household
chores and subsistence tasks.

597 The reasons why parents allow their children to be adopted are both
the negative factors of hardship and a willingness to assist childless
couples. Illegitimate children are frequently adopted by someone in
the mother's family, not because of any great stigma but to give the
child a socially acceptable position and to free the mother to find a
husband. Children thought to have been conceived in adulterous rela-
tionships are often unwanted by the mother's husband, and he might in-
sist that the child be adopted out. Men who lose their wives through
death or divorce and are left with small children will usually allow
them to be adopted or even actively seek an adopter. Parents experi-
encing economic hardship, severe illness, or marital instability may
actively encourage the adoption of their children. It is believed that
families with several children should be willing to give one to a child-
less kinsman and in some cases this seems to be the only motivation.

Gratitude for services rendered will sometimes result in adoptions.
A woman who cures a sick child may be given the child as a gesture of
parental appreciation. Another example is provided by a man I shall
call Finau who was visiting an outer island. During his stay there
Finau had an argument with the kinsman he was visiting and was asked to
leave. A non-kinsman befriended him and looked after Finau until pas-
sage could be arranged back to Tongatapu, the main island. Out of
gratitude Finau asked his benefactor what he could do in return. The

597 young woman just starting or in the midst of her childbearing years.

Or tama could also be a man with a young wife. The same would hold true for other dyads with cross-generation principals like 'BC'-'FZ'. Given the adoptees are usually less than two years of age it would not be expected that middle-aged or old women would be donating adoptees to adopting parents.

Concerning Conscious Models

121 Conscious models in general reflect patterns of behavior with varying degrees of accuracy. To illustrate this assertion, I will compare two conscious models--the Tongan model of marriage with the Tongan model of kinship reciprocity. The model of marriage or at least certain aspects of it are followed closely in terms of behavior. For instance, 183 582 581 the marriage model contains these principles: Two people cannot marry

if they are kinsmen; a marriage must be condoned by both the groom's parents and the bride's parents; the marriage must be legally recognized and given religious approval by the church. Some of these principles

(673) are disregarded under penalty of law, i.e., it is illegal for persons (684) to live together as man and wife if they are kinsmen or if their marriage (656) has not been registered by the government. Further punishment is

(848) provided by the fact that children born of an unregistered marriage are (428) illegitimate and, therefore, ineligible to inherit.

585 If parents disapprove of the marriage or if the marriage is not 582 recognized by the church, the couple probably would be subjected to 626 strong social sanction in the form of gossip or even social ostracism 183

TONGA

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If there is no widow the land passes to the deceased holder's eldest son, or if he is also dead to his eldest son, and if there is no male heir through the eldest son then the land passes to the next eldest son or his male heir and so on. If there is no heir through the sons an unmarried daughter may hold the land for life, or until she marries or is proved in the Land Court to have committed fornication. Several unmarried daughters may hold jointly. If there are no daughters the succession passes to the deceased holder's brothers and their sons, or failing these, to the brothers of the deceased holder's father and their male heirs. No person may inherit land if he already holds an allotment of the same kind as that to which he is entitled as heir, but where the heir is a son or grandson of the deceased holder and already has land he may choose between his own allotment and the inherited allotment. Should there be no heirs the land reverts to the estate-holder or the government, depending on the type of estate. Only legitimate sons may inherit, and only in very rare cases is an allotment divided between two heirs. These rules of inheritance do not necessarily follow Tongan custom exactly. For instance, succession to an allotment cannot now be traced through a female, and the son of a daughter of a deceased holder has no claim to the land of his mother's father, although succession to an hereditary estate can be claimed through females. In practice, however, where there are no heirs through males the Minister and estate-holders usually allocate the land to the nearest other relative. A study of land acquisition in two villages showed that in one an allotment had passed from a widow to her brother's son, there being no claimant from her husband's family, while in the other, six of the forty-eight landholders interviewed had gained their allotments from their mothers' relatives.

With large families common it is obvious that many men will not be able to inherit land, and for them the only way of obtaining an allotment is to acquire one that is vacant. This has not been easy, however, over the last two or more decades. In the more densely populated parts of Tonga all allotments have been occupied for some time, while in other districts the survey and subdivision of the land has not kept pace with the growing number of taxpayers. Up till 1957 only 2,564 eight-and-a-quarter-acre allotments had been marked out, although there were then about 12,000 taxpayers, and in the less densely settled areas where allotments should have been available much of the land remained in customary holdings of about ten to thirty acres (similar to those shown in the 1910 map for Niutoua in Figure

1). A

A [See Category 423, p. 109--Analyst.]

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565 what follows that Bott was told by her Tongan informants
 554 (p. 217) that 'Everything in the kava ceremony goes by titles.' As
 has been indicated above, the three highest ranking titles in
 the pre-European society were the Tu'i Tonga, the Tu'i Haa
 [643] Takalaua and the Tu'i Kanokupolu in that order. This ranking
 of titles was expressed by saying that the first Tu'i Haa Taka-
 laua was a younger brother of the Tu'i Tonga and that the
 first Tu'i Kanokupolu was a younger brother of the Tu'i Haa
 Takalaua (Gifford, 1929, p. 82), and today the relative status
 of titles is expressed by saying that the one is the elder or the
 younger brother of the other. But the relationship is between
 the titles, not between the holders of the titles.

[593] In matter of *personal* rank, a sister always ranked above her
 [562] brother; hence, at any particular time, the male Tu'i Tonga
 [643] was outranked, as an individual, by his sister, the female Tu'i
 [644] Tonga (Tu'i Tonga Fefine).³ In personal terms certain children
 of the Tu'i Tonga Fefine might rank even higher.

848 In pre-Christian Tonga no clear distinction was made be-
 554 tween regular marriage and temporary liaison. The offspring
 resulting from a casual sexual encounter between an important
 man and a woman of low status might be classed as 'children
 in the bush', which implied that they were of low rank but
 they were not, in any meaningful sense, illegitimate. By the
 same token the offspring of a high ranking woman by a lower
 ranking man might have very high personal status.

644 In particular, the Tu'i Tonga Fefine was entitled to sleep
 554 with anyone she chose. When she cohabited in this way with
 the holder of one or other of the 'Fijian' titles, Tu'i Lakepa and
 Tu'i Haa Teiho, a resultant son would inherit one of these titles
 and a daughter would become the Tamaha, who was the
 highest ranking individual in the whole system.

644 The Tamaha was often married to the Tu'i Kanokupolu, who
 643 ranked third in the chiefly hierarchy of titles but was the most
 554 powerful chief in a political sense. It will be noted that the
 adult Tu'i Lakepa or Tu'i Haa Teiho would then be the Tu'i
 Tonga Fefine's cross-cousin - Father's sister's son (see Gifford,

The structure of symbolism 251

(Gifford, 1924, pp. 47-9). This time he seduces not his sister 773 but a lady with the same name as his mother.

Tu'itātui is passing the island of 'Euciki and sees a beautiful girl. At first he is not sure whether she is human or spirit. As in Bott I, there is again a suggestion (Gifford, 1924, p. 48) that there is no food on 'Euciki. In the end Tu'itātui abducts the girl and they have children. The girl's name is Nua.

Gifford (1924, pp. 43-6) also gives two very similar versions 539 of a myth relating to the marriage of Momo and Nua (the 773 mother of Tu'itātui). The second of these runs as follows:

Gifford V

There was a Tu'i Tonga named Momo, who sent his attendant Leha'uli to the chief of Ha'amea (in Tongatabu) who was named Lo'au, telling him that he wanted 'new yams and old yams' to complete the planting of his little yam patch. Leha'uli did not understand the meaning of the message he bore. He really thought that the Tu'i Tonga wanted yams. Before he spoke to Lo'au, however, Lo'au guessed what he had come for. So Leha'uli delivered his message.

Lo'au told him to tell the Tu'i Tonga that he had 'no new yams but he had an old yam and bush yams', meaning one married daughter and 'daughters in the bush', i.e. illegitimate daughters.⁵ The attendant took this message to the Tu'i Tonga, who again sent him to Lo'au to tell him that he wanted Nua, Lo'au's married daughter. She was married to Ngongokilitoto of Malapo, Tongatabu, who was chief of Ha'angongo (probably a clan or other group of people).

So Lo'au came to Malapo and spoke to Ngongokilitoto, telling him that the Tu'i Tonga wanted Nua. Ngongokilitoto told Lo'au to go and wait on the road until he had talked with Nua, for their marriage was a marriage for love.

Ngongokilitoto told Nua that he released her from marriage in order that she might go to the Tu'i Tonga, but he would visit her regularly. He told her that if she heard water dripping on a *kape* (*Arum costatum*) leaf as on a rainy night that it was a sign that he was outside.

Lo'au then took his daughter to the Tu'i Tonga. For some time Ngongokilitoto visited her. Whenever she heard the dripping on the *kape* leaf she went out to meet her husband. Nua had already born Ngongokilitoto a son called Fasiapule. She was anxious to

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- 565 3. The Tu'i Tonga Fefine held office until death so that she might
354 be, on occasion, the reigning Tu'i Tonga's father's sister.
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- 539 4. Eua is the smallest of the inhabited islands of the Tongan
773 group. 'Eueiki is ordinarily uninhabited and, as is well known to all
Tongans, it is very difficult to land there because of the nature of the
reef (Bott, personal communication).
- 539 5. Bott comments that this notion of 'illegitimacy' is modern.
773 Formerly 'in the bush' meant 'of low rank', i.e. the offspring of a
848 temporary liaison between an important man and a woman of low
554 status. The child of a liaison between two aristocrats of comparable
status would not be described in this way (cf. p. 246).
- 276 6. Bott, p. 216. 'There are other linguistic links with the idea of
kava as a poison. *Kavafisi* and *kavahaha* are creepers used as fish
poisons. The word "*kavahia*" means to be nauseated.'
- 773 7. Cf. note 5. 'Aho'eitu has a human mother and a heavenly
539 father.
8. One explicit tradition asserts that the child of Nua, the girl
from 'Eueiki, was named Uanga and that this Uanga succeeded as
Tu'i Tonga (Gifford, 1924, p. 49).
9. Gifford (1924, p. 46), which records the incest of Tu'itātui
with his sister Latūtama, implies that the child of this liaison was
named Talamata and that Talamata succeeded as Tu'i Tonga.
Gifford (1929, p. 53) assumes that Uanga and Talamata are two
names for the same historical individual.
- 276 10. Although the 'original' Tu'i Lakepa is supposed to have been
574 a Fijian who was elder sister's husband to a Tu'i Tonga this title is
not now considered to carry *motāpule* rank (Bott, personal communi-
cation; cf. Gifford, 1929, p. 34).
- 276 11. Firth (1970, pp. 199-233) gives an account of kava ritual
594 and myth in Tikopia which can usefully be compared with the
539 analysis given above. In Tikopia, as in Tonga, there are two main
773 versions of the mythology but the roles are reversed. A healthy boy
171 replaces the leper girl; a female spirit who 'dies' in childbirth and
then survives as the Female Deity of Tikopia replaces the male
'Aho'eitu who is murdered and then survives as the Tu'i Tonga. The
Tikopia libate their kava; the Tongans drink theirs. It may be
noted that the appearance of the Female Deity in the Tikopia
pattern is consistent not only with the function attributed to the Tu'i
Tonga Fefine in this present paper but also with other characteristics
of the Female Deity to which I have drawn attention elsewhere
(Leach, 1961, p. 21).

SUCCESSION DISPUTES IN MODERN TONGA

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Consequently, the two main issues on which the cases were adjudicated were the question of the claimant's or defendant's legitimacy and the question of whether a claim could be heard after a certain lapse of time, based on a statute concerning "limitation of action". The following densely worded statute was introduced in 1927 in order to control what then appeared would be perpetual, repetitive, and embarrassing disputes over chiefly titles (Clause 148, Land Act, Chapter 63, *Law of Tonga*, 1967):

148. No person shall bring in the Court any action but within ten years after the time at which the right to bring such action shall have first accrued to some person through whom he claims, or if such right shall not have accrued to any person through whom he claims then within ten years next after the time at which the right to bring such action shall have first accrued to the person bringing the same.

This clause went through some complicated amendments and arguments concerning, for example, whether a potential plaintiff's right to claim commenced with the death of the last title-holder or with claimant's twenty-first birthday (the legal age of succession). At any rate, the question of limitation of action was the point on which a number of cases were decided and barred before arriving at the consideration of substantive issues.

The question of legitimacy was the issue on which the outcomes of a number of cases hinged. The superimposition of the institution of Christian marriage on the diverse forms of unions by which children were produced both in pre- and post-Constitutional Tonga made the determination of legitimate birth highly problematic, especially for purposes of succession to lands and titles. A number of cases were resolved by either demonstrating or failing to demonstrate the illegitimate birth of the plaintiff or defendant, through the presentation of evidence from eyewitnesses of births, church registration records, hearsay, and interpretations of what the equivalent of legitimacy was in the pre-Constitutional period (since in the early cases of the 1920's, some of the disputing parties had been born before the giving of the Constitution).

One might wonder how any succession cases could arise at all given the precise provisions of the succession law. What complicated matters in fact, beside the above habitual uncertainties about legitimacy, were the frequent failure of a title-holder to produce any legitimate heirs in their direct line and the irregular appointments that had been made by Tupou I and Tupou II under a succession law without legal machinery for its regulation. When the direct line of succession failed to produce an heir, then a successor had to be appointed from a collateral line reckoned from the parental generation or even further back. It can be seen that once the search for an heir extended beyond the direct line of succession, appointed at the time of the formation of the nobility, the potential number of claimants and potential diversity of ties from past generations

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SUCCESSION DISPUTES IN MODERN TONGA

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[581] Kalaniuvalu as the representative of the Tu'i Tonga line among the modern nobility. Tupou II's marriage to Lavinia resulted in the assimilation of the Kalaniuvalu line as a channel of Tu'i Tonga descent into the Tupou dynastic line: not only was Lavinia's father's mother the twin sister of the original Kalaniuvalu but by design or circumstance, Lavinia's mother's brother's son, C, had become, not only Fotofili, a noble title, but also Kalaniuvalu (B, successor to A, had no legitimate heirs so that the Kalaniuvalu title descended through his sister, E). The kin of Queen Sālote on her mother's side (the Fotofili/Kalanuvalu connections) were favoured during her reign, and the children of Fotofili have been crucial in aristocratic marriage arrangements since the reign of Tupou II. For example, the present Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili recently married the King's brother's eldest daughter, and their first male child is considered by many to be the highest ranking blood aristocrat in Tonga.

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[554] Now, these arrangements might have been upset, at least regarding the holding of titles, had X (see Fig. 2) won his 1945 claim to the Kalaniuvalu title against C, the then holder. X, born long after B's appointment to the title, was nonetheless the descendant of a legitimate eldest male child of the original Kalaniuvalu. It is not clear why Kalaniuvalu's eldest legitimate male child did not succeed; perhaps he did not survive the original Kalaniuvalu himself. The most renowned Tongan lawyers, experienced in the litigation of title cases, defended C against X, the plaintiff, who was a minor, but whose mother's mother, Y, was the main impetus behind his claim. In a remarkable courtroom battle, the defence lawyers convinced the Land Court Judge that although married, Y had given birth to X's mother illegitimately, thus disqualifying X from any claim to the Kalaniuvalu title.

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661 Although it was clear that the Queen favoured C and had a more personal vested interest in this case, there is no evidence that the monarch intervened, other than to suggest to Kalaniuvalu (C) or perhaps to arrange that the most skillful lawyers should collaborate in his defence. The case itself was resolved on the commonly contested issue of legitimacy. Thus, even in the one case of a disputed aristocratic title, the monarch declined to tamper with the legal process of adjudication.

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428 By the 1950's, the Crown Prince as Premier was increasingly in control of affairs of government (his father Tūngi had died in 1942). He apparently was more sensitive than his mother to the capacity of the legal process to check the monarch's appointments of hereditary titles. His presence in Privy Council in the 1960 appeal decision concerning the second Vakalā case was at least partially responsible for the reversal of the fairly consistent previous trend of Privy Council confirmations of Land Court decisions. Since 1960, and his succession to the throne in 1965, there have been no major title disputes adjudicated. One can only speculate that the King is following a sophisticated

Birth and Death Rates.—Infant Mortality.—Marriages. 91

blooded Tongans" have some admixture of foreign blood (mostly European), and there is a danger that the number of these will continue to increase. 563

The smallness of the country and the land-laws do not attract Asiatics, and those who have entered the country in recent years are mostly Japanese storekeepers and Indian tailors, saddlers and house-servants. 563 167

BIRTH-RATE. The birth-rate for 1931 was particularly high, 40.9 per 1,000 of the population. The average for the past ten years is 36.95. This may be compared with the average in New Zealand 19.01, Australia 22.19, and Fiji (1927 only) 32.53 per 1,000. 163 000

The illegitimate births, averaged over the past ten years, were 17.36 per cent. of the total number of births. Illegitimacy in Victoria, for example, represents 4.80 per cent. 163 848 000

DEATH-RATE. Unfortunately, the death-rate is also high, 17.46 per 1,000 of the population in the period 1922-1931 but only 15.40 for the last year. This compares favourably with Fiji (1927 only) 22.98, Japan 21.2 and Italy 16.5 per 1,000, but it far exceeds the rate in some other countries, such as England and Wales 12.2, Australia 9.4 and New Zealand 8.5 per 1,000. 165 000

It is most regrettable that, though native treatment is forbidden by law, it is practised everywhere, even within easy access of Government Medical Officers. Of the 432 deaths registered in 1931, 205 were certified by medical officers, 228 had not been attended; nevertheless, this is better than in 1923, when 178 deaths were certified and 309 not attended. The medical officers are gradually winning the confidence of the people, and the return of qualified Native Medical Practitioners from the Central Medical School, Suva, in 1933 should increase the acceptability of European treatment among the Tongan people. 757 757 165 759 757 178

Some causes of death in recent years were:—Tuberculosis 23.5% of the certified deaths, typhoid fever 11.1%, pneumonia 10.7%, influenza 1.3%. Malaria is unknown, yaws and filariasis are common but not usually fatal, and leprosy is not common; cases of leprosy are sent to Makogai, Fiji, where there are thirteen Tongan lepers at present. 165 164

Tuberculosis is undoubtedly the scourge of the group. The Medical Department does its utmost especially with incipient cases, but it is recognized that its efforts would be aided if the Tongans would seek treatment and carry it out. Deaths from tuberculosis in Tonga average annually 33 per 10,000 of the population*, as against 17.5 in France, 9.7 in England and Wales, and 5 per 10,000 in New Zealand. 164 165

* (This assumes that the proportion of tuberculosis as the cause of death in the cases of those uncertified was the same as for those certified.)

INFANT MORTALITY. The average number of deaths of infants under 12 months for the last ten-year period stands at the alarming figure of 119.09 per 1,000 births, but for the last five-year period the rate was only 67.7 and 67 in 1931. This may be compared with England and Wales 71, Australia 53, and New Zealand 38 per 1,000 births. 000

MARRIAGES. The marriage rate is 10.40 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 7.92 in Australia. The rate of divorces to marriages in the past ten years has been 1 in 9.05. 162 581 586

[1924-1942]

Trousers and black coats had been worn in imitation of Europeans, and old Free Church people particularly were addicted to this practice. While Fijian and Samoan preachers had their neat and comfortable native dress, their Tongan counterparts sweltered in their black suits. So conservative were members of Conference that permission was barely obtained, in 1932, for those College students who were local preachers to wear the *vala*. The same concession was obtained for theological students in 1934, and several years later the becoming native attire was adopted throughout the Free Wesleyan Church.

Gradually, other reforms were accepted. Illegitimate infants had not been baptized in church services, to mark the Church's strong disapproval of illicit sexual relationships; the reflection upon the infant was evidently thought to be immaterial. In a country where illegitimacy was over 17% of births, largely because the parties often preferred not to marry, and where no social stigma was attached to the child or its mother, it was incongruous that the Church should show discrimination in baptizing. Only a part of the service had been used in these cases, and this was done outside a church building. Even Dr. Moulton had felt that illegitimate children should be baptized quietly in his study or baptism left until a child was older. It was not until 1933 that Conference allowed baptism of an illegitimate child with the full service in the church, the mother accompanied by a male relative. The 1934 Conference allowed funeral bells to be rung, irrespective of the circumstances of birth or of death.

The 1934 Conference Minutes showed the care being exercised in the conduct of worship. Conference ruled that the elements in Communion were to be received kneeling (the old Wesleyan custom) and no one under fifteen years, normally, was to be a communicant. The Morning Prayer Liturgy, with chanting, in Dr. Moulton's translation, had been used only in the Wesleyan Church after 1885; the old Free Church people had looked askance at it even after its optional use had been authorized in 1924; they overlooked the fact that the early missionaries had used these forms in an older and weaker translation. Gradually the liturgical forms were adopted.

Music always played a prominent part in Tongan Church worship. Choir competitions, held in conjunction with the Annual Conference, were instituted in 1933. The Queen was one of the adjudicators on several occasions. Twice the finals, with a massed choir of over 1,000, were held in the Palace grounds before a vast assemblage. The 50th anniversary of the setting up of the Free Wesleyan Church was celebrated in 1935, when thirty-seven choirs took part in the competitions.

An exceptional incident occurred in 1934 when a relatively small number from the Free Church returned to the Free Wesleyan Church. A minister, John Malamala, with seventy people from the village of Kanokupolu, western Tongatapu, joined the Church.

Princess Fusipala, the Queen's step-sister, had been at school at Auckland for six years, and at Methodist Ladies' College, Hawthorn, for three years. After serious ill-health in Tonga, she went to Sydney for medical treatment but died there on 21 April 1933. Her body was brought to Nuku'alofa for interment in the royal tombs.

During World War II, on 21 July 1942, the Queen and the nation experienced the grievous loss of the Prince Consort and Premier, Tungi Mailefihl, who died

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839 the plantings. As in olden times, (210)

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210. Rape in ancient Tonga was not regarded as a crime if women were not married or not of higher rank than that perpetrator (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 107, 167); perhaps rape, for which Mariner mentions young chiefs in particular, became more frequent among commoners after their "liberation."

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it is often not regarded as a crime. However, if such a deed is not forgiven by the girl who was attacked and if, subsequently, in the family counsel it is not "equalized" with some recompense, there follows a legal hearing (as a result of a charge by the raped girl) and the perpetrator must expect a term of imprisonment. On Nomuka, for example, from July 1951 to January 1952, there were four charges of rape in which eight young Tongans were involved. Most of them took their jail sentences calmly, knowing that they "had achieved their goal." Although no one tries to prevent pregnancy, the number of illegitimate births is not as high as one might expect. For example, in Fungamisi/Vava'u (263 inhabitants) in April 1952, among 128 children only 12 were illegitimate, born to six unmarried girls. (211)

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211. This is probably only slightly above the present average in Germany. For the entire Archipelago 9.89 per cent and 11.20 percent were the figures officially given for 1950 and 1949 respectively. (Report of the Department of Justice, for the Year 1950/ cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p. 3.)

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The natives explain this disproportion by saying that very frequent intercourse is required to produce a child. If an unmarried girl becomes pregnant her parents are at first annoyed and probably reproach her bitterly. But the girl is often happy about the expected child, frequently sees in it a help in years to come, and will still be quite able to find a husband. However, girls who are unpopular

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848 to begin with are regarded with suspicion in such cases. Most
582 young Tongan men seem to marry another girl than the one with whom
836 they have had pre-marital intercourse.

836 Apart from the aforementioned limited decrease of pre-marital
177 intercourse as a result of European influence (mission work), the
178 present situation as described corresponds more or less to ancient
Tongan times. For Mariner already tells us of the freedom of un-
married girls (212)

212. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

and of certain difficulties in winning a girl (unmarried woman). (213)

213. The same, loc. cit. II. p. 174.

178 Then, as today, unmarried men seldom try married women (214)

836 214. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

837 and promiscuity and prostitution are scarcely noticeable on the small
548 islands. (215)

215. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 174/175.

177 However, the often inglorious behavior of foreign troops on Tongatapu
548 during the Second World /75/ War has led to the fact that in Nuku'alofa,
562 for example, various Tonga women offer themselves for money, and in
the seaports a certain roughness of young Tongan men in their conduct
toward females may probably be traced back to the influence of war.

Nuptials

581 Tongans usually marry out of personal affection and practical
584 affection and practical considerations. Often the parents of the man
or girl try to dispose them toward a "better" match, and the couple
will sometimes ignore the parents' will ("flight marriage," see p. 96).
Childhood betrothals arranged by the parents (216)

216. These are mentioned by Mariner for roughly
one-third of the married women (to men of
higher rank than commoners). (compare J.
Martin, loc. cit. p. 167).

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fabrics in their traditional manner as a cloak or in the shape of an Arabian kanzu, (48)

48. Underneath this, perhaps a European shirt and shorts as well, the chiefs more often with long pants under the kanzu and a European jacket over it.

while the women who do not wear bark cloth have extended their old garment up to their shoulders and given it straps and short sleeves. In this way a sort of national costume has been created, comparable to the so popular vala in Tonga.

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In the social realm it is worth noting that polygamy among the Baganda, in contrast to conditions in the Tonga Archipelago, has not been entirely given up in its old form, though it has very much decreased and its years seem numbered. The Christian moral code, as on the South Sea Islands, is by no means strictly followed, and illegitimate children are likewise taken into the community without particular discrimination. The Baganda have also proved conservative to the extent that they cling, in their fashion, to their old classificatory kinship terms, like the Tongans. With regard to stages of life (marriage, birth, death) much that is old has been preserved and partly linked with new customs. Thus the traditional bride price among this people still plays a very important role, and to legalize a marriage this is more important, even for the most devout, than the church wedding. The customs surrounding the transfer of the bride to her husband have, however, been changed to a certain extent in keeping with the European-Christian conception.--Little seems to have changed in the customs associated with birth and the treatment of the newborn child. Yet here too, as in Tonga, practically every child receives the Christian baptism; the old customs of name-giving, which were once important among the Baganda, are being more and more ignored.--With regard to death and burial, these Africans prove quite conservative,